

THE WAR MINISTER SPEAKS CONCERNING CHINA AND
MANCHURIA

1. Interview with "Times" Correspondent

Lieutenant General Sadao Araki, Minister of War, granted an interview to Mr. Hugh Byas, the Staff Correspondent in Tokyo of the "Times" of London and New York on January 16, 1932. The conversation covered various features of the Japanese policy concerning Manchuria and Mongolia. The War Minister's answers are translated from a verbatim report in Japanese.

Question: With the conclusion of military operations, Japan's constructive policy in Manchuria now has to be developed, and other Powers are more interested in Manchuria's future status than in past events. The following questions are asked with a view to understanding Japan's policy. What form do you expect the new government of Manchuria to take - imperial or republican?

Answer: I am sorry to say that I could not answer that question; it bears in part upon the question of what policy Manchuria and Mongolia will follow in creating a new state, a question outside the War Minister's line. But I may venture to say this that a question of the sort should be settled by the new Manchurian administration on the basis of popular will, and not by Japan or any other people. What I particularly wish to have you transmit to the peoples of the countries you represent, is that if a new state is brought into being in Manchuria and Mongolia as a result of China's self-destructive moves, such event should be regarded purely as an incident in the internal politics of China, with which no foreign nation should interfere. And no nation takes a clearer view of this same matter than Japan which has always adhered to the policy of non-interference in the internal politics of China. What we truly want in Manchuria and Mongolia may be stated in plain terms. We want, from our unchanged motive of securing peace in the Far East, a new reign of peace established throughout those countries where natives as well as foreign peoples may alike live in peace and security, and enjoy through the open door policy commercial equality and opportunity for investment. Concerning our recent military operations, we may state that we were simply compelled in self-defense. But in no instance did we go beyond such limits. And I believe that our conduct of affairs over there has been so clear and above board that nobody with a real knowledge of the positions can doubt that that is our policy.

Now as for the question of what form of government may be expected in Manchuria, there seems quite a

divergence of opinion even among the leaders of the new Manchurian administration. Some of them would like to see the Imperial regime restored, while others favor a republic composed of the four races Manchurian, Mongolian, Chinese and Japanese - who inhabit the territory and deserve a measure of credit for its present development. But when all is said and done, this is a question that the Manchurian administration must decide by itself on the basis of the people's collective will. I can not make any prophecy.

Question: If the same is to take a republican form of government, will there be a central government or simply four local provincial governments?

Answer: That is a question for the new Manchurian Government.

Question: What will be the link, if any, between the Manchurian Government and the central government of China?

Answer: I dare say that it may be fortunate for the 30 million people of Manchuria, if the Manchurian Government disassociate itself from the central government of China. Was it not a realization of this that made the local governments of Lukden, Kirin and Heilungkiang declare their independence and break off relations with General Chang Hsueh-Liang and the Nanking Government? Apart from the matter of making inquiries in historical lines, we may say that, in the light of the actual conditions in Manchuria and Mongolia during these recent years, these countries have been part of China in name but not in fact. They have existed as truly feudalistic provinces, each of them having a government of its own. The head of the government, vested with both civil and military authority, had absolute power to rule. There was no clear distinction between his private funds and the government's funds. Provincial banks at his order issued each of them convertible paper currency without limit. He kept personal soldiers and state soldiers and made no distinction between them. On the strength of these soldiers he abused his powers and enriched himself and indulged in pleasures. He, therefore, often imposed heavy and unreasonable taxations. These conditions became worse when the late Marshal Chang Tso-Ling, not satisfied with ruling the four provinces of Manchuria, extended the fields of his ambition within the Great Wall of China. This policy was later pursued even at the cost of Japan's vested interest, finally developing into moves expressive of antagonism and contempt for Japan. Such being the case, it will be, in my opinion, for the benefit not only of the people of Manchuria but also for the peace of the whole Far East, if Manchuria remains separated from China.

Question: What will be independent Manchuria's relations with the Japanese government? In other words, how will you ensure that Japan's interests will be respected in the future?

Answer: New independent countries, born under the conditions of modern times, must needs have in their early days a positive support of countries and peoples specially interested. You will understand this, if you study the story of the independence of Cuba or the formation of Panama, and of many other new countries formed in Europe after the great war. It is natural that Japan should support the progress and development of a government in Manchuria which is prepared to recognize and protect Japan's rights and interests and maintain friendly relations with her. Apart from the question of how the new administration might be asked to ensure our interests, is it not natural at all that we should ask it to guarantee them and expect that it should be so?

Question: Japan's aim is to prevent Manchuria being involved again in Chinese political turmoil. Judging by past experience, that will require some power to prevent excessive taxation imposed. How would you expect to prevent those evils reappearing?

Answer: I share your view that Manchuria should be prevented from again being involved in China's turmoil, and my view is based on the ground I have already set forth. It is most desirable for peace in the Far East that 30 million people should be saved from China's warlords and given their freedom. It is interesting to observe that the new government in order to wipe out the influence of the former warlords, are steadily enlisting good men from the old armies in their police forces. It is also interesting to see how they disband the rest of the old armies and offer them work, in order to eliminate the evils with which their countries have been infested.

Question: Would you favor appointing Japanese advisors to the new government?

Answer: That depends on the new government. We shall not force the employment of Japanese advisors. If the new government wants them there is no reason why we should object.

Question: If the unification of Japanese organs in Manchuria is effected, would the head of the new Board have special relations with the Manchurian Government?

Answer: It is generally recognized that we have in the past experienced considerable difficulty in many ways through the quadripartite system of administration we have had there. I should not be surprised, therefore, if a new organ should be worked out unifying the existing institutions. But I cannot say beforehand what, in such event, the relations of the new head of the Japanese Board and the head of the Manchurian government will be. That is for the Japanese and Manchurian governments to arrange.

Question: The Kwantung army has invited legal, financial and industrial advisors to prepare plans for development, according to press reports. How is it proposed to have these plans carried out - by the new unified Japanese administration or the Chinese?

Answer: I have heard that experts have been invited by the Kwantung army to study various problems. The present chaotic conditions explain this step. The army, however, is interested in matters affecting itself. Details are unknown to me as there have been no discussions yet with the central authorities.

Question: What security would you have against another period of inflated currency?

Answer: That question is out of my line. The currency question in Manchuria and Mongolia is very complicated. The province of Mukden has its own Fengpiao or Mukden notes, the province of Kirin has its own currency notes, while in Harbin we find Harbin Tayeng notes in circulation. Besides, these notes are so over-issued that they are just about the value of waste paper today. The warlords printed notes recklessly to provide for their military and political expenditures and for their private investments. Nobody knows the exact amount of the currency issued. In any case, it seems obvious that the new government of Manchuria will have to attend, as one of the very first things, to the task of unifying its currency system on a sound basis of conversion, by disposing of all those worthless notes in circulation.

Question: Would the relations of Manchuria with the Maritime customs be altered in any way?

Answer: I am not in a position to answer that question.

Question: Are you satisfied that an independent Manchurian government will carry out policies satisfactory to Japan?

Answer: I have no idea.

Question: Will there not be a risk that Japan may eventually have to annex Manchuria, or seek a mandate for its administration from the League of Nations?

Answer: There is absolutely no risk. Japan will respect treaties to the utmost.

Question: Are you in favor of the South Manchuria Railway taking over the railways for which they have not yet paid?

Answer: As War Minister I cannot answer this, but I think if the other parties are willing, the South Manchuria Railway will accept.

Question: How would you dispose of the bandit problem?

Answer: The first step to make Manchuria and Mongolia a happy land is to wipe out the bandits, restore order and maintain local peace, by doing away with the bandits overriding the whole territory. That is exactly what 30 million people want. But the Manchurian government at present is not strong enough to suppress them. The Kwantung army is compelled, for its own safety, to suppress them. It was for the same reason that we claimed and obtained that right at the Council of the League of Nations. But as a matter of fact, the Kwantung army which numbers 20,000 has considerable difficulty to deal with the bandits who number tens of thousands and keep shifting throughout the vast country where there is little else to hamper their movement. What should be noted is that the Chinese population in Manchuria are in most part immigrants from Shantung, a fierce race, with strong, anti-foreign sentiments. It was among them that the Boxer movement developed. Some bandits are used by General Chang Hsueh-Liang as tools against Japan but others are reduced to banditry by poverty. The former must be suppressed. The latter will be given employment or means of support if they surrender. Many bandit gangs have lately submitted to the Japanese forces, and asked to be employed as police.

附屬書三

陸軍大臣支那及び滿洲を語る

一、「タイムス」紙記者との會見記
 陸軍大臣荒木貞夫中將は一九三二年一月十六日倫敦及び紐育タイムス紙
 特派員ヒューバイヤス氏に會見を許した 談話は滿洲及び蒙古に對する
 日本の政策の諸相に及んだ 以下陸相の答は日本語速記録より翻譯した
 ものである

問、作戦行動の終結と共に日本は滿洲に其の建設的政策を進展せしめる
 必要を生じた列國は過去の事件よりも寧ろ滿洲の將來の狀態により
 深い興味を抱いてゐる次の質問は日本の政策を理解せんとの意圖を
 以て發せられたものである 曰く滿洲の新政權は如何なる形態を採
 積りなりや—帝政なりや或は共和政なりや

答、殘念乍ら其の御質問にはお答へ出來ない 御質問は一面には滿洲及
 び蒙古が新國家建設上如何なる政策を採用するかと云ふ事であつて
 之れは陸軍大臣の範圍外の事項である

併しこう云ふ事は云つても良いと思ふ 卽ち御尋ねの問題は滿洲の
 新政權が民意に基いて決定すべき事であつて、日本或は他の民族が
 決定すべき事柄ではない 特に私は貴下の國の人々に此う云ふ事を
 傳えて戴き度い

若し滿洲及び蒙古に新國家が建設されたなら 其

his idea to realize social convictions which were
 to be no destitute, murders or thieves; and where lost articles
 would always be returned to their owners. He often stated
 that it was not a fancy but could actually be found in his-
 tory in certain periods and localities and in our own day
 there was something like it in Sweden. He insisted that
 authority and guidance were necessary for the realization
 of such a national life.

これは支那が自己崩壊的行動の結果であつて純然たる支那自身の國內政治問題であり他國の容啄すべからざる事柄である、そして此の事に關しては從來支那内政不干涉主義を固守して來た日本が一番良く事態を擱んでゐるものであると云ふ事を日本が滿洲及び蒙古に對して眞に希望する處は率直に云へば次の通りである。即ち日本は極東に平和を維持せんとする終始不變の念願よりして、滿蒙の他には、滿蒙人並に外國居留民が平隱に安全に生活を續け門戸開放主義により商業の均等投資の機會均等を得る事の出来る如き平和政權の出現を望むものである。最近に於ける日本の軍事行動に就て云へば日本は自衛の爲めに行動せざるを得なかつたのであつて如何なる苟合と雖も此の範圍を逸脱した事は無かった。右も現地の状況に關して正確な智識を持つてゐる者なら誰れでも現地の事態に對する日本の行動は飽く迄明澄であり此の方針には一點疑ひの余地も無かつた事を認める事と信ずる。さて滿洲に於て期待される政体に就ては新政府首腦者連の間にも色々違つた意見がある様に見える。一部の者は帝政の復活を希望してゐる。或る者は又同地に居住し現在の發展に貢獻した四民族即ち滿洲蒙古支那、日本人より成る所の共和政体を希望してゐる。然し總てを論議し盡し、總ての仕事を終つた後では之等は滿洲政府自体が民衆の總意に基いて決定すべき事であつて私には何とも豫想はつかない。

that it was not a fancy but could actually be found in history in certain periods and localities and in our own day there was something like it in Sweden. He insisted that authority and guidance were necessary for the realization of such a national life.

問、若し共和政体が實現するとすれば中央政權が樹立されるでせうか、

夫れとも四ヶの地方政府政權が分立する事になるでせうか、

答、夫れは新政權の決定する問題である
問、滿洲政府と支那中央政府との間に關聯性ありとすれば如何なるもの

か
谷、私の意見としては滿洲政府は支那中央政府と關聯を持たない方が、
三千萬民衆の爲に幸福であると思ふ
天省 吉林省及黒龍江省の各地方政府政權が張學良將軍及び南京政府との
絶縁を宣言したのでは無かつたか
歴史に照らして見るまでもなく最近に於ける滿洲及蒙古の實狀に照ら
して見ても之等の土地が名儀上のみの支那の一部であつて事實上はそ
うで無かつたと斷言する事が出來る
滿蒙の兩地は事實上封建制度的
の領土として各々獨自の政權を持つて統治して來た
各省の首班は
民事、軍事兩様の權力を授けられ絕對行政權を有してゐた
政權首班には個人財產と政府の財產との間に區別が無い
民立銀行は何れも首班の命令により無制限に不換紙幣を發行する
彼は私兵と國兵との双方を備え、此の間區別が無い
此等軍隊の力によつて生じた權力を悪用して私腹を肥やし快樂に耽る
從つて不當な重壓稅を課する事も屢々ある
此の状態は故張作霖將軍が滿洲四省の統治に満足せず萬里の長城の向

his ideal to realize social conceptions where there
be no destitute, murders or thieves; and where lost articles
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tory in certain periods and localities and in our own day
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答問

ひ側にまで野心を延ばそうとした時に著しく悪化して來た。斯うした彼の政策は日本の既得権益を犠牲にしても遂行せんとする勢となり遂には日本に對する抗争並に侮蔑にまで進展して來た。此う云ふ次第であるから、私の意見としては、滿洲が支那から分離した儘で居た方が滿洲民族の爲めのみならず極東全般の平和の爲めにも得策であると考へるのである。

問、獨立滿洲政權と日本政府との關聯は如何。換言すれば將來在滿日本權益の安全保障を如何にして得るや。現下の如き状勢下に誕生する國家は必然的に其の建設初期に於ては之れと利害關係の深い國家並びに國民の積極的援助を必要とする。此の邊の事情は貴下がキューバ國の獨立、パナマ國の結成或は大戰後歐洲に誕生した諸國家の事情を御研究になれば良く解ると思ふ。日本が日本の在滿権益を認め、之れを保護し、日本と友交關係を持續する用意のある滿洲の政權を援助するのは當然の事である。新政權が如何なる方法に依つて我が権益を擁護するかを尋ねる事よりも、新政權に我が権益に對する保證を要求し之れに應ずる事を期待するのには勿論當然の事ではないか。日本の目的は滿洲が再び支那の政變に捲き込まれない事にあると思ふ。

be no destitute, murders or violence, would always be returned to their owners. He often stated that it was not a fancy but could actually be found in history in certain periods and localities and in our own day there was something like it in Sweden. He insisted that authority and guidance were necessary for the realization of such a national life.

過去の経験に徴すれば此の爲めには過重課税を防ぐ爲めの實力が必要であると思ふが、斯うした弊害の再現を防ぐには如何にしたら良いと考へるや

答、滿洲が支那政争渦中に捲き込まれてはならないと云ふのは全く同感である。之れに關する私の意見は既に述べた通りで極東平和の爲めに最も三千萬民衆が支那軍閥の手から救はれる事が最も望ましいのである。新政權が舊軍閥の勢力を一掃するためには舊軍隊中から其の警察力用として良い人間を徵集してゐるのは面白い事では無いか。又過去に於て國家が災害を受けた處の惡の根源を芟除する爲めに残りの軍隊を解散してみると云ふ事も興味深い事である。

答、新政府に日本人顧問を任命する件は御賛成ですか

答、其れは新政府の意向次第だ。我々としては日本人顧問の採用を強制はしない。若し新政府が日本人顧問を必要とするなら格別之れに異議を唱える理由もない。

答、若し滿洲に於ける日本系機關の統合が實現すれば其の統合機關の長は滿洲政府と何等かの特別關係を有する事となりますか

答、日本が滿洲に於て過去に有してゐた四頭政治のため色々な困難を経験した事は衆知の事實である。従つて何等か新しい機關が出來て現併し、若しそうなつた場合の統合機關の長と滿洲政府の長との關係は今

his ideal to realize social conditions where there should be no destitute, murders or thieves; and where lost articles would always be returned to their owners. He often stated that it was not a fancy but could actually be found in history in certain periods and localities and in our own day there was something like it in Sweden. He insisted that authority and guidance were necessary for the realization of such a national life.

から豫想する事は出來ない

夫れは双方の政府が打ち合せるべき事柄である
、新聞に依れば關東軍は既に將來發展の計劃を樹てる爲めに法律、財政、産業方面の専門家を招聘したと云ふ事であるが斯うした計劃は如何なる方法で遂行しますか 統合した日本の政府機關が遂行するので

すか それとも支那側が行ふのですか
答、専門家が關東軍に招聘されたと云ふ事は私も聞いてゐる 現在の混頓たる状態では之れも必要な事であらう 併し軍としては自分の關係のある事だけしか知らない此うした事に就ては中央政府と論議した事はないから詳細は全然聞いて居らない

問、通過膨張の新時代に對して如何なる対策がありますか
答、御質問は私の範囲外です
元來滿洲及蒙古の通貨の問題は非常に複雑で假令ば奉天省は奉天票を發行してゐるし吉林省は吉林省で獨自の通貨を持ち哈爾濱には太洋貨が流通してゐる
而も之等は余りに發行額が大きい爲めに其の價値は紙屑同然だ
軍閥は軍事費、政治費及び個人企業をまかなう爲めに出鱗目に通貨を發行したので發行總額が幾許になるか知つてゐる者は無い 何れにしても新政府は第一着に先ず現在流通中の無價値紙幣を整理して通貨制度を兌換制に基く健全なるものに統一する事業に着手する要がある事

his ideal to realize social communism ---
be no destitute, murders or thieves; and where lost articles would always be returned to their owners. He often stated that it was not a fancy but could actually be found in history in certain periods and localities and in our own day there was something like it in Sweden. He insisted that authority and guidance were necessary for the realization of such a national life.

は明瞭である
問、満洲と海關との關係は何等か變更を生じますか
答、其れは私の御返事する問題ではない
問、滿洲獨立政府が日本に滿足を政策を實行すると御考へですか
答、解りません
問、日本が將來満洲を併合し、或は國際聯盟に依頼して委任統治領とする
と云ふ様な危險はありませんか
答、絶對に無し、日本は條約を極度に尊重する
問、南滿洲鐵道が未支拂の鐵道を合併する件には御賛成ですか
答、陸軍大臣としては其の質問には答へられない、併し、先方がそう希望
するなら滿鐵としても受けたらうと思ふ
問、匪賊の問題は如何に解決しますか
答、滿蒙を樂土とする爲め第一に爲すべき事は、全土に跋扈する匪賊を
處置して治安を恢復し地方の平和を保全する事である、三千萬民衆の
希望する處も實に此の點にある
併し現在の滿洲政府の實力は匪賊を制壓する程強くない、従つて關東
軍は自己保全の爲めにも彼等を鎮定するの余儀なく立ち到つた
日本が國際聯盟理事會に於て匪賊討伐の權利を要求し之れを保全した
のも全く同様の理由からである併し實際問題としては僅か二萬に過ぎ
ない關東軍が満洲の廣野を何等の妨害も受けず縱横に行動する數萬の

his ideal to realize social conditions where there would be no destitute, murders or thieves; and where lost articles would always be returned to their owners. He often stated that it was not a fancy but could actually be found in history in certain periods and localities and in our own day there was something like it in Sweden. He insisted that authority and guidance were necessary for the realization of such a national life.

匪賊に對抗するのは極めて困難な事である
茲に備注を要する事は滿洲の支那民族の大部分は山東省からの移民
であるつて彼等は氣性激しく而も排外思想の強い人種である
拳頭運動の發生したのも此の人種の仲間である此のうち一部は
張學良將軍の魁儡となつて抗日に利用されてゐる者もあるが其の他の
者は生活難から匪賊になり下つた者である
前者は鎮壓の要がある後者は降伏するならば職業を與へ扶助の途を講
じてやる積りである
相當數の匪賊が既に最近日本軍に降伏し警察官
たらんと志願してゐる

his ideal to realize social conditions where there would be no destitute, murders or thieves; and where lost articles would always be returned to their owners. He often stated that it was not a fancy but could actually be found in history in certain periods and localities and in our own day there was something like it in Sweden. He insisted that authority and guidance were necessary for the realization of such a national life.